Hauora Māori:

Indigenous Language Education, Environment and the Production of Literature[1]

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1. Introduction

'Hauora' is a Māori word which means health. Other Māori words for 'health' are 'waiora' and 'oranga'. The word 'ora,' which is shared by these expressions, means 'life'. The word 'hau' is 'wind' or 'breath' and 'wai' is 'water'. These words suggest that health is conceived in Māori as having a close connection to the natural environment. The concept of 'hauora' is centred around the discussion of postcolonial cultural formations in Aotearoa New Zealand on the issue of indigenous language education, community and environment, and the development of indigenous literature and media.

This paper focuses on the 1980s and the subsequent decades and examines how the problem of health has been regarded among indigenous people in New Zealand, discussing medical reforms in the context of the indigenous language education movement and the land rights movement. It explores the Māori literature of the late 1980s and the 1990s as the contesting ground for these social issues. Rore Hapipi's 'Death of the Land' (1976), Apirana Taylor's *Kohanga* (1986), Witi Ihimaera's *The Whale Rider* (1987), Rena Owen's 'Te Awa i Tahuti' (1987), Hone Kouka's *Waiora* (1996) are discussed in the context. This paper also discusses the dystopian visions presented in two plays by Māori writers, Miria George's *and what remains* (2005) and Whiti Hereaka's *Te Kaupoi* (2010), in contrast to the 1990s Māori theatre in Aotearoa.

2. Medical Decolonization in the 1980s in the Context of Other Indigenous Movements[2]

The 1980s were a time when Māori intellectuals appealed for medical decolonization in Aotearoa. A meeting called Hui Whakaoranga (the Department of Health Seminar on Māori Health) was held at Hoani Waititi Marae in Auckland in March, 1984. This was an epoch-making

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[2] For more detailed argument of medical decolonization and Māori health issues, see Sei Kosugi, 'Indigenous Culture and Medicine in New Zealand: Hauora Māori' (in Japanese) in *Postcolonial Formations II* (Graduate School of Language and Culture, Osaka University, May 2007), pp. 17-30.

year when the Māori concept of health was discussed for the first time in a national dimension. Recognizing the devastating influence of colonialism, which still affects them even today, the Māori intellectuals of the 1980s tried to become active agents in founding a new medical system for Māori based on the cultural heritage of their own people.

In the 1980s, some Māori leaders redefined 'health' from a different viewpoint to that of the Western medical concept. Māori psychiatrist, Mason Durie, presented what is called 'te whare tapa whā (the four-walled house)' model to embody the constituent factors of health (hauora) at meetings held in Hamilton and in Ōtaki in 1983 (Spicer 196). Using the metaphor of the structure of a wharenui (Māori meeting house) on marae (communal meeting place), Durie explains that health consists of four dimensions, that is, 'taha wairua' (the spiritual side), 'taha hinengaro' (the mental and emotional side, such as thoughts and feelings), 'taha tinana' (the physical side), and 'taha whānau' (family), just like the four walls of the meeting house supporting each other (Durie 1994: 70). Moreover, in his paper of 1985, Durie explains that health is based on the three main institutions of 'land (whenua), family (whānau), and language (reo)' (65). These are holistic ways to redefine health and health problems. Similarly, the Royal Commission on Social Policy in the late 1980s described the pre-requisite factors for health as '*whanaunga* (family); *taonga tuku iho* (cultural heritage); *te ao tūroa* (the physical environment), and *tūrangawaewae* (land base or source of identity)' (Pōmare 1995: 26). The plays written by some Māori writers in the 1980s onward, and a novella by Witi Ihimaera, which I will discuss later, show that these four factors are closely related to the issue of health at mental, physical and communal levels.

When Durie focuses on the problem of 'deinstitutionalization' in his articles, he uses this term in two meanings. One is the governmental policy of 'deinstitutionalization' which reduced the number of hospital beds for mental patients from more than ten thousand to less than two thousand between 1973 and 1996 (Durie 2001: 223). According to Durie, 'Having concluded that many large institutions for the treatment of the mentally ill were not conductive to good health, treatment within the community was advocated in most Western countries from 1960 onwards'. Presumably on the basis of anti-psychiatric movements abroad and also for financial reason of the state, the New Zealand government suddenly changed the policy. After the infamous era of Western medication, lobotomy and electric shock treatment, many psychiatric hospitals in New Zealand were closed and the long-term patients were discharged. The problem was, as Durie points out, 'alternative community structures . . . were often not available' (Durie 1985: 63). This is the other meaning of 'deinstitutionalization', and it is an issue that Durie considers to be a more serious problem. It is the 'deinstitutionalization' or breaking down of the Māori society or community itself, which was caused by the process of colonization in the 19th century and urbanization in the 20th century. It refers to the situation of the 'Māori people becoming separated from the traditional institutions', that is, 'land (whenua), family (whānau) and language (reo) 'that had nurtured them

and maintained standards of health, including mental health' (Durie 1985: 65).

The rapid urbanization of the Māori population after the Second World War, the loss of connection to their own community and land, and the change in the family unit from the extensive family to the nuclear family caused not only a sharp decrease in the number of fluent speakers of Māori but also an alarming increase in the number of Māori who committed suicide, who suffered mental illness, and who were placed in custody. This situation prompted the Māori people to follow new social movements. Māori medical reform in the 1980s included the movement for plural or alternative medicine, the re-evaluation of traditional medicine of the 'tohunga' or healer, and the establishment of a communal network of health care. Ngā Ringa Whakahaere o Te Iwi Māori (the National Body of Traditional Māori Healers) was constituted in 1993. It supports regional branches of 'whare oranga' (houses of healing), which offer traditional herbal medicine (rongoā Māori), massage (mirimiri) and counselling on health issues to local Māori people. It also offers a bridge between the local Māori community and the hospitals by helping those who are reluctant to confide their problems to unfamiliar non-Māori doctors in large hospitals. The introduction of biculturalism has occurred not only in the field of medical institutions, but also in prisons. We can see examples of introducing Māori culture for mental and physical training in prison, such as Māori language classes or haka and taiaha practice. This helps the inmates to form a positive consciousness of their own traditional culture, and take pride in it. The traditional arts of carving and raranga (weaving) have also been introduced as 'occupational therapy' in psychiatric hospitals, and the Māori musical instruments (taonga puoro) have attracted students of music therapy as a form of alternative medicine. This medical reform movement of the 1980s can also be seen in the context of the land rights movement and the indigenous language education movement of the previous decades.

As we can see in Māori proverbs such as 'Toi te kupu, toi te mana, toi te whenua' (Retain the language, the dignity, and the land) and 'Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori' (The language is the heart and soul of the *mana* of Māoridom),[3] the connection to the ancestral land and the retention of language are vital ways in which the Māori people keep their own identity and *mana*, that is, self-esteem, prestige or power. Through the restoration movements of the 1970s the Māori aimed to regain their own language, 'te reo rangatira,' and their own land, which had been confiscated during the process of colonization.

In the 1980s, these efforts led to the foundation of the Māori immersion preschool 'Kōhanga Reo' (language nest) in 1982, the Māori immersion primary school 'Kura Kaupapa Māori' in 1985, and the immersion secondary school 'Wharekura Māori.' It is not only the language but also the culture and history of their own iwi (tribe) that is the focus of education in these Māori institutions. Children brought up in Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori are very confident in their ability to

[3] The English translation of the second proverb is from W. Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 2 : Regaining Aotearoa: Māori Writers Speak Out* (Reed Books, 1993), p.223.

speak te reo and they are proud of their own cultural heritage passed down from their ancestors. This shows that a sound ethnic identity is formed through indigenous language education.

New Zealand is the country where indigenous language education has seen the most successful development in the world. The first generation of Kōhanga Reo children have grown up and some of them are teaching at Māori total immersion preschools and schools, passing down their own language and culture to the next generation. This movement in indigenous language education as well as the development of indigenous media such as Māori Television are forming a new emergent national culture in New Zealand in the context of other indigenous and migrant cultures in Oceania. The indigenous language education has also spurred the production of indigenous literature both in English and in Māori. Since 1995, Huia Publishers have held annual literary competitions for Māori writers, including both adults and secondary school students. This has helped to encourage a new generation of Māori writers to produce works both in English and in Māori, and some of the authors are teachers of Kura Kaupapa Māori, or graduates in creative writing or Māori studies courses at universities.

3. Language, Identity and Mental Health

According to Eru Pōmare, at 'Hui Whakaoranga' (the Department of Health Seminar on Māori Health) in 1984, a delegation from Kōhanga Reo predicted that 'they would contribute to Māori health development' (Pōmare 1995: 148). To retain the language is, indeed, to nurture positive ethnic pride and identity in Māori children. Thus it leads to the promotion of mental health. This consciousness awakened by the indigenous language education movements is also seen in Māori literature from the 1980s to the 1990s. Especially in the 1990s, when quite a number of plays were written by Māori playwrights, theatres played the role of the 'marae' (communal meeting place), where playwrights present social issues to the audience or celebrate the recovery of pride in their own history and tradition.

Hone Kouka's play, *Waiora*, first staged in 1996, presents the idea that the connection to the homeland and Māori language is an integral part of identity or well-being for the Māori people. To lose one's own language and the connection to the land equals death. The title of the play *Waiora*, which literally means 'water (wai) of life (ora)', is a Māori word for 'health'. In this play, this suggestive word refers to a fictional village on the East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand, the homeland of the main characters. According to the Māori classification of water, 'waimate' is 'dead water, water without *mauri* (life principle), or water which does not nurture life' and 'waikino' means 'polluted water or water which brings misfortune', while 'waiora' is the water of life which sustains the growth of every living creature on earth and it is also the water used for purification ceremonies (Douglas 1984: 5).

Waiora is the story of a Māori family who emigrated from the East Coast of the North Island

to somewhere near Christchurch in the South Island in 1965. One of the main protagonists, Hone, who works under a pākehā boss, distances his family from their traditional heritage by forbidding his son and daughters to speak Māori in an effort to assimilate himself and his family into the white society. On his daughter's eighteenth birthday, when Hone tries to remember a song which he used to sing at home, he finds himself unable to recollect the Māori words any more. The Māori world (te ao Māori) which Hone and his family have left behind and try to forget in their new life in the white urban society is symbolized in this play as 'the TĪPUNA', the four ancestral characters who constantly move around Hone and his family on the stage during the whole process of the play. Rongo alone can see and hear these ancestral figures. Rongo, a quiet girl with a beautiful voice like the 'tūī' (a New Zealand native bird), has lost her sweet singing voice since she moved away from her homeland. Forbidden to speak te reo Māori by her father, she loses her voice and her balance of mind as well, but no one notices the predicament of this autistic adolescent girl. Standing alone on the beach, Rongo sings a song of Hawaiki (the distant homeland of Māori people) and Rangiātea (the heavenly world where the seeds of language are planted in a human's soul before being delivered to this world). Rongo addresses her beloved deceased grandmother in her mind:

> *RONGO is down at the beach. . . . She is silent, but her mouth is moving. Slowly, the waiata she is singing fades up and we hear it. The waiata is 'Tawhiti'. The TĪPUNA have quietly raised their voices with her.*
>
> *Tawhiti, kei Hawaiiki pāmamao,*
> *Kei Rangiātea nui. . .*
> *Auē, tawhiti e . . .*
> . . . . . .
>
> ***Rongo:*** . . . . Kei te mahara ahau ki ngā pao, ngā waiata, ngā haka arā te katoa. . . . I am standing in the water so I can touch home. Kei te whānui ngā ringaringa o Tangaroa hei awhi . . . . So if I am held in those hands, I am taken back to the beach of Waiora, our true home. . . . Nanny, I'm so hungry, not for kai, but for words. Here, we kōrero Pākehā, not Māori. Not allowed to [speak Māori]. . . . Scared I'll waste away to a whisper, then nothing, and I will forget our words. . . . We are stopping ourselves from speaking the reo. . . . We will be a lost people. . . . (*Waiora*, 28-30)

Forbidden to speak Māori, Rongo is afraid that her own being will waste away. The only consolation for her is to soak her feet in seawater, remembering the feeling of water in her homeland. The ocean is the only place which connects her to her homeland, Waiora.

On her eighteenth birthday, while her father argues with her brother who has been expelled from the school, Rongo silently walks out of the house towards the sea, following the voices of her

tīpuna (ancestors), who lure her into the water. Rongo is found dead, but she is miraculously brought back to life by the words of haka which her father and her brother perform. The ancestral words of haka pour 'life-giving water', that is, 'waiora' into the shrivelled soul of Rongo and save her from the drowning 'waikino', that is, the environment of white society which has oppressed her and brought her close to death. Hone and his family decide to go back to Waiora, their homeland, to the whenua and te reo, which are, for them, the source of life itself.

This play presents a typical example of the identity crisis and communal crisis caused by the urbanization of the Māori population after World War II. The representation of the suicide of an adolescent girl, which is also the theme of Alan Duff's *Once Were Warriors* (1990), reflects the statistics that the suicide rate is highest for Māori aged between 15 and 24—more than double the rate for non-Māori of that age category[4]—and that the indicator for mental patients in 1970 is the highest for Māori females of the same age category (Pōmare 1988: 116). According to a survey of the Dunedin Multidisciplinary Health and Development Study, those who have experienced 'residential mobility' in adolescence have a higher incidence rate of mental illness (Spicer 128). Rongo, who moves from the Māori village in the North Island to the white society in the South Island, is a good example of this case. The mental state of Rongo, who sees and hears her dead ancestors, might be diagnosed as 'integration dysfunction syndrome' using Western medical terms. However, in Māori terms, she is a 'matakite' (a person who can see supernatural beings and has a prophetic ability). Rongo's illness is a symptom of the mental crisis that would be caused by her father's unhealthy act of cutting off their connection to the land, the ancestors and the Māori values or world view, which are the foundation of their identity. In this play, the Māori language is given a symbolic power as the force that sustains the mental well-being of the people.

Apirana Taylor's play, *Kohanga*, which was first staged in 1986, is another example of the relation between the affirmation of cultural heritage, including the language or Māori identity and the recovery of mental and physical health. In this play, retaining the language is closely related to Māoritanga and the formation of a sound social identity. The play is a discussion over Kōhanga Reo in a small local community. One of the protagonists, a young Māori woman called Nell, is an enthusiastic supporter of Kōhanga Reo. She often attends the meetings of Muriwai Kōhanga Reo, wishing to put her own daughter in Kōhanga. She is also keen to learn te reo herself although her efforts are not successful. However, Muriwai Kōhanga Reo is actually on the verge of closing down because of the depression and a lack of well-trained staff. Nan, Nell's mother and an old lady with *mana* (prestige, dignity or power) who was educated in wānanga (the communal school where traditional tribal knowledge is handed down usually just to boys) obstinately refuses to let her granddaughter study at Kōhanga Reo because of her own experiences of having lived through the

[4] http://www.maorihealth.govt.nz/moh.nsf/indexma/suicide-intentional-selfharm

age of assimilation. Nell's white husband Murray, a factory worker with a fear of impending unemployment, is also against Kōhanga Reo. He argues that the number of Māori people in custody will not be reduced even if they let their daughter learn at Kōhanga, insisting that it is more important to pay the back rent than to put her daughter in Kōhanga Reo. The loud arguments and quarrels among the three main characters unfold throughout almost the entire play. The difficulties of the establishment and the maintenance of Kōhanga Reo are presented in a realistic way in this play which was first staged in 1986, that is, a few years after the establishment of the first Kōhanga Reo in New Zealand. However, ten years after the premiere of the play, according to the statistics of 1996 (which was one year after the publication of the script of the play), 46 % of Māori children were learning at Kōhanga Reo as a result of the constant growth of the number of children learning at Kōhanga since the first school was established in 1982.

Suffering from a nagging ache in the bones which cannot be healed with doctor's medication, the old Māori lady, Nan, grumbles, 'it's the mountain which makes this place cold. I wish the Pakeha would get their bulldozers and cut the mountain up. Cart the whole thing away and dump it in the sea. Or steam-roll the whole mountain flat and put a nice tar sealed road there. The place would be warm then' (13). When we think of the Māori custom of introducing oneself by referring to the name of an ancestral mountain, river, and sea, this remark of Nan is extremely self-abusive. At the end of the play, however, Nan finally recognises that it is she herself who can save the future of the community by educating the children on marae, where she decides to reopen their Kōhanga Reo. As if awakening from a long nightmare, the aches in her bones, which have long tormented her, disappear and once again Nan finds the cold mountain wind pleasant and refreshing. Nun's real name, Materoa, is symbolic in that it means 'long (roa) illness (mate)' or 'long (roa) death (mate)'. Materoa comes into full life again when she affirms her own identity and cultural heritage (taonga tuku iho). What has been gnawing at her bones for so long is the ache of her own soul caused by the denial of her own being as a Māori and her own *mana* (prestige or power) and knowledge.

Rena Owen's play 'Te Awa i Tahuti (The River That Turned Away)', which was first staged in London in 1987 and toured prisons and drug rehabilitation centres in the UK, also connects the issue of health to the affirmation of Māori cultural heritage. It is the story of the mental and physical recovery of a young Māori woman Toni, who is in a London prison on a charge of drug addiction. During her 15 months in custody, Toni goes through counselling with a sympathetic Pākehā social worker, Mrs Bottomley, and leaves the prison at the end of the play. Traumatised by her father's violence towards his family and reproaching herself for her brother Fankie's suicide, Toni, who has worked as a professional nurse for four years, falls into drug addiction and mental disorder. Her brother Frankie, a victim of domestic violence, who was put in mental hospital at the age of sixteen and came out as a piece of hopeless human debris after two years' of heavy medication and repeated electric shock treatment, is also a victim of Western medicine. Just before

leaving the prison, Toni has a dream of coming back to her grandmother's house in her homeland. Approaching the house, she falls into a black hole. Amid the fear of impending death, Toni remembers the story of a famous Māori chief, Te Rauparaha, who composed haka after coming out of the black pit where he had hidden himself from his pursuing enemies. Like Te Rauparaha, who finds himself dead but comes to life again, Toni recovers her life with a stronger identity as a talented Māori woman. Te awa i tahuti (the river that turned away) returns with a revived rush of water of life, that is, waiora or health.

4. Land and Environment as Tūrangawaewae and Foundation for Health

For Māori, the ancestral land is what gives one 'mana' (self-esteem, prestige or power) and 'mauri' (life force). The land is also 'tūrangawaewae' (literally, a standing place for one's feet, or foundation of identity). Durie remarks that land is thus 'a foundation for mental health' (Durie 1985: 65). According to Durie, 'Land becomes part of the internalised identity and provides a secure footing (turangawaewae) from which one can emerge with a past and with confidence' (Durie 1985: 65). Therefore, '[p]ollution of the earth, lakes, rivers and the sea is, from a Maori point of view, as much an assault on the mind as it is on the land; it is a deterrent to good mental health, even a cause of mental ill-health' (Durie 1985: 65). When we have this perspective in mind, the land rights movement is an activity that represents regaining health for Māori.

Rore Hapipi's 'Death of the Land', which was written at the time of the 1975 Land March and was first staged in 1976, is a play dealing with the Māori land issue. Rore Hapipi himself was active in land right movements such as the protest against the Raglan Golf Course in 1978, and the famous Land March of 1975 when over 5000 people marched from the top of the North Island to Wellington. This play, written and staged as these political movements were in progress, shows the process of a land court where the ancestral land of Rangimoe is sold to Mr Atkinson, a pākehā New Zealander with a Māori wife. Throughout the court scene, the audience see a supernatural character Rongo, who lingers on the stage, addressing some characters as a voice of conscience and making blasphemous comments, interrupting the judge as he reads out the sentence. From the start of the play, 'a wailing noise as at a *tangi* [a ritual / process of mourning for the deceased]' (Garrett 17) is heard and when the judge stamps the sentencing document with an official finality, 'a shriek goes up and a loud wailing is sustained . . . as though, with the down-thrust of the stamp, the JUDGE has plunged a knife into something living and killed it' (47). This play shows the deep pain of losing ancestral land, the Māori pain from the cutting of 'the umbilical cord attaching them to their heritage' (47), presenting it symbolically as the death of the land or the soul.

Witi Ihimaera's *The Whale Rider* (1987) is a postcolonial ecological novel which shows that 'te ao tūroa' (environment) is an essential foundation for the sustainability of the Māori community. As Huggan and Tiffin mention in *Postcolonial Ecocriticism* (2010), this novel gives us ecological

comments from the viewpoint of the whale. The novel also refers to the social movement for the establishment of Kōhanga Reo and mentions a speech contest in the Māori language in which the girl protagonist, Kahu, wins the first prize. What are cut from the film version are the italicized interludes narrated from the point of view of the whales. In the novel of *The Whale Rider*, the story of the Māori people of the village of Whangara is narrated alongside the story of the whales. Like the rangatira (chief or leader), Koro Apirana, who is worrying about the future of the Māori community in his village, the old leader of the whales, who is called 'koroua' (old man), is worrying about 'the genetic effects of the undersea radiation on the remaining herd and calves' (59) while inspecting the new 'cracks in the ocean floor' and the 'serious damage below the crust of the earth' (59) caused by the repeated nuclear testing in the South Pacific. The ancient whale leader tries to guide his herd away from a sparkling 'net of radioactive death' or 'the poisoned water' (60).

Māori villagers in Whangara see a vision of their own death at the sight of the two hundred dying whales stranded on the shore of the neighbouring village and at the bloody sight of the white traders dissecting the still living whales with chainsaws. The night after this disaster, the doomed ancient whale with *moko* (tattoo) on his forehead strands himself on the shore of Whangara with a herd of his followers. The girl protagonist, Kahu, who has the power of the ancient 'tohunga' (medicine man) to 'talk to whales' (114) leads the stranded whales out to the open sea, back to the waiora or the water of life, bringing back the lost oneness with the land and ancestors, thus, giving a *mauri* (life force) to the impoverished community. In this novel, the survival or sustainability of the life of the community as a whole is related to that of the whales which are a part of nature and the environment. With the theme of 'houora' (health) or survival of the Māori community, this novel tells us that survival becomes possible by retaining traditional heritage[5] and 'the original oneness of the world' (115), that is, the harmony or connection between mankind and nature.

5. Dystopia in Māori Plays in the 2000s Onward

Miria George's *and what remains* (premiered in 2005) and Whiti Hereaka's *Te Kaupoi* (premiered in 2010), which are both set in Aotearoa in the near future, show a new aspect of political theatre by presenting visions of dystopia. Miria George's play, *and what remains*, consists of a conversation among several characters of various ethnic backgrounds assembled in the International Departure Lounge of Wellington Airport. They are: a Māori woman named Mary; a young executive business woman named Ila in her late twenties, of Gujarati Indian heritage, who has most of their family in London; a young New Zealand-born Samoan graphic designer named Solomon, who is leaving New Zealand for 'overseas experience'; and a woman of Malaysian

[5] The point of the novel is also the revitalisation of tradition by combining new knowledge with old heritage, as Ihimera makes clear in the episode with the broken rope of Koro Apirana's engine, which is tied and strengthened by a girl protagonist Pai in the film of *Whale Rider* (2002).

heritage named Anna, a cleaner of the toilets in the International Departure lounge, who wants to leave this country but cannot afford it. Mary, Ila and Solomon are all waiting for their flights, which are delayed. In the course of the conversation, Mary is revealed to be the last Māori leaving New Zealand. Near the end of the play, a shocking fact is disclosed to the audience. Mary, who had been working as a trained health worker in the governmental compulsory Birth Control Programme for Māori teenagers, found her own name on the birth control list, which now includes Māori women from 16 to 25 years old. This led to Mary's decision to leave her home country (which she felt was no longer her 'home') as well as her pākeha husband Peter on her 25th birthday. If she had stayed one day longer, she would have been put in the programme. The sterilization injection in the play suggests something more than physical human rights infringement. It means Mary will not be able to live as herself if she stays in the country. Before leaving the departure lounge, Mary secretly opens her suitcase in the toilet and stands for the last time on the soil of her home country, which she has packed in the suitcase. Although the play is a fictional story with a dystopian vision, the atmosphere of this departure scene is tense and real. While the Māori are described as '[s]ixteen percent of this country [which] was a problem that we were forced to solve' (20) in Miria George's play, the Māori are described as 'terrorists' in Whiti Hereaka's *Te Kaupoi*.

Whiti Hereaka's *Te Kaupoi* also describes a dystopia of the near future in a story set in the North Island plateau where a young Māori cowboy Zeke (Te Kaupoi) and his mother live a secluded life. Zeke is the son of a Māori 'terrorist' who allegedly blew up the parliament building, in protest at the government's abolition of Māori seats in the Congress. (However, according to Zeke, his father advocated passive resistance and it was a government agency that bombed the parliament to scare the citizens so that government anti-terror laws could be pushed through.) Every time Radio One broadcasts news about the arrest of Māori dissidents and travel restrictions, the programme is hijacked by a radio broadcast from someone named 'Te Kaupoi'. He makes a resistance proclamation, mocking the Māori *pepeha* (traditional phrase) of identifying oneself by referring to the names of mountains, rivers, iwi (tribe) and ancestors that one is associated with.

> *I have no mountain or land; they have been stolen from me. I have no people; they have been scattered. I am born of slavery and injustice. I am the son of no one and everyone. I am Te Kaupoi.*[6] Freedom? What kind of freedom do we enjoy? . . . . Fraternity? Who can I call brother in this land? Hui have been labelled conspiracy; they fear our bonds of whanaungatanga, restricting our bloodlines to the neat family trees of their oak. One tree, one family. We are like the forest—many roots interwoven and each are necessary. Would it not be easy to fell our enemy, their roots are not so bound as ours. (*Te Kaupoi*, 6-7)

[6] The *pepeha* can be heard on YouTube on the Bats Theatre website (http://www.bats.co.nz/node/142).

Sarah, a Māori woman without ID and with a moko (tattoo) on her arm, who had been found half-dead near their shack and was saved and nursed by Mary, turns out to be an agent sent by the government, and the play ends with a Radio One broadcast announcing the arrest of Zeke (Te Kaupoi) and his mother Mary: 'Among those arrested, well known activist Mere Edwards and her son Zeke Edward. . . . A government spokesperson claims today's arrests as a success for the controversial "Operation Cuckoo". . .' (91).

What are the messages of these plays written in the wake of the golden decade of Māori theatre of the 1990s? Miria George says that what continued to inspire her to write the play was a remark made by a politician, Michael Laws, ('Māori should be sterilized') on the occasion of hīkoi (protesting march) in May 2004.[7] These plays are warnings that the nightmare dystopian future might become a reality if the latent negative potentiality in society emerges. Miria George's play reminds us of a criticism made in a very different context by Janet Frame, a New Zealand novelist of Scottish descent, who wrote novels based on her own experiences as a patient in mental hospitals. Her novels, *Owls Do Cry* (1957) and *Faces in the Water* (1961), criticise the inhuman violence of psychosurgery such as lobotomy, which changes a patient's character, while *Intensive Care* (1970) describes a eugenic dystopia in New Zealand where mental patients and people with intellectual disabilities are terminated. Daphne, a protagonist in *Owls Do Cry*, who is waiting for the lobotomy operation in solitary confinement like a prisoner sentenced to death, knows somehow she will not wake again as herself after the operation.[8]

6. Conclusion

We have seen how the concept of 'hauora' exists in the different dimensions of social movements such as the indigenous language education movement, the land rights movement and the medical decolonisation, which share the same ethos. We have also seen how the concept of 'houora' is presented in relation to the language, traditional heritage and identity or Māoritanga in the plays and the single novel written by Māori writers in the 1980s and in the 1990s. The theatrical works by Hone Kouka and Apirana Taylor assess the indigenous language as sustaining the spiritual health of the indigenous people. At the same time, the land and environment is presented as the foundation for mental and physical health for the Māori people or the Māori community. On the other hand, dystopian visions presented by some Māori plays from the 2000s onward give us a warning against the possibility of bilingual, multi-ethnic Aotearoa relapsing into a monocultural

[7] This is from an interview with Miria George and Hone Kouka which I conducted in Wellington in September 2010. Tawata Productions led by H. Kouka and M. George is now playing an integral part in promoting Māori, Pacific and Asian theatres in Aotearoa along with Taki Rua Productions.

[8] As for the discussion of Janet Frame's novels, see Sei Kosugi, 'Formation of Postcolonial Subject in New Zealand: In Search of the Edge of the Alphabets' (written in Japanese) in *Theories and Practice of Cultural Studies* (The Graduate School of Language and Culture, Osaka University, 2001), pp. 73-86.

desert following a change of political climate. We learned from the recent earthquake in Japan that a catastrophe caused by nature will not end simply as a 'natural' disaster in this age of nuclear power development, because the device we made for our survival might become something uncontrollable which threatens our living environment itself. We surely have to think about 'what remains' and what we should fight to protect. Here is a song of greeting.[9] The words are in Māori, followed by the English translation.

Ko ahau e mihi atu nei	Here is my greeting
Huia mai tātou	Let us get together
Ki te hāpai i ngā tikanga o mua	To uphold tradition
Hei oranga ngākau e	For the well-being of our mind

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[9] The song was composed by Nātana Takurua to the melody of a Japanese song, 'Akatombo' (Red Dragonfly), on the occasion of my lecture at a community centre in Kawanishi, Hyogo, Japan in 2006.